Photographic Encounters: Martín Chambi, Indigeneity, and Chile-Peru Relations in the Early Twentieth Century[1]

ABSTRACT: In 1936, the indigenous Peruvian photographer Martín Chambi travelled to and exhibited his work in Chile. Using a transnational framework of historical analysis, this article explores the multiple meanings of his visit. In particular, it underscores the involvement of the Chilean and Peruvian governments in this cultural encounter, and highlights some of the commonalities and connections, as well as differences, between the discourses of race that were circulating in Chile and Peru at the time. This is important because it undermines the dominant historical narratives, which have tended to present Chile as a country that – in contrast to Peru – failed to engage in discussions about the so-called 'indigenous question', and which have interpreted relations between Chile and Peru almost exclusively as antagonistic and hostile.

KEY WORDS: Chambi, photography, Chile, Peru, indigenous, transnational, encounter

Figure 1: 'La llama y el llamero' [The Llama and Llama-Driver] or 'El indio y la llama' [The Indian and Llama], 1930

[1] I would like to thank Matthew Brown, Ruth Bush, Rhiannon Daniels, Ruth Glynn, James Scorer and *JLAS* anonymous reviewers for their very helpful comments on earlier drafts of this article. I would also like to thank Rupert Medd for generously sharing some of the newspaper reports he found on Chambi, whilst doing research in Peru, and Teo Allain Chambi, as Director of the Martin Chambi Photographic Archive, for allowing me to reproduce three of Chambi's photographs here.

The picturesque, melancholy image of 'The Llama and Llama-Driver', or 'The Indian and Llama' counts among the most applauded works of the Peruvian photographer Martín Jerónimo Chambi Jiménez (1891-1973).[2] It was one of the photographs that Chambi took with him to Chile in 1936. This educated, urban-based, Quechua and Spanish speaker, from a rural peasant family in Puno – hailed by the Cuzco newspaper *Excelsior* as the 'great Andean artist' – visited the country for three months (February –May) and exhibited his work in Santiago, Valparaíso, Viña del Mar, Temuco, Osorno, Valdivia, and Puerto Montt.[3] My article investigates what happened to and through his photographs when they journeyed across the Chilean-Peruvian frontier, and thereby seeks to fill a gap in the burgeoning scholarship on Chambi, which makes frequent reference to the fact that he went to Chile, but doesn't explore the repercussions of the trip in any depth.[4] I investigate this one specific instance of the early transnational reception of Chambi's photography, in order to better understand both the significance of his photography – especially in relation to the visual politics of race – and the multidimensional nature of Chile-Peru relations during the first half of the twentieth century.

Academic scholarship and the popular press have tended to present the contemporary and historical relationship between Chile and Peru as one of hostile antagonism. This is not surprising, given the two major wars fought between these countries (and Bolivia) in the nineteenth century, and the long-term repercussions of those wars, particularly the War of the

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[2] Silvia Spitta, 'Monumentally Indian: The Photography of Edward Curtis and the Cuzco School of Photography', *Comparative American Studies* 11: 2 (2013), p. 180.

[3] *Excelsior*, Cuzco, 4 December 1927. For a brief overview of Chambi's life story see Roderic Camp, 'Martín Chambi: Photographer of the Andes', *Latin American Research Review* 13: 2 (1978), p. 224.

[4] For example, Andrés Garay Albújar, *Martín Chambi, por sí mismo* (Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra, 2010), pp. 152-154; Michele Penhall, 'The Invention and Reinvention of Martin Chambi', *History of Photography* 24: 2 (2000), p. 107; Edward Ranney, 'The Legacy of Martin Chambi', in *Martin Chambi: Photographs, 1920-1950* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), p. 11; Herman Schwarz, 'Martin Chambi: Corresponsal gráfico, 1918-1929', in *Martin Chambi* (Madrid: Fundación Telefónica, 2007), p. 31.

Pacific (1879-1883).[5] Only in recent years have scholars begun to excavate the equally long history of Chilean-Peruvian interactions and collaborations. The work of Carmen McEvoy and Ana María Stuven (2007) represents an important step in this direction for the nineteenth century. [6] Eduardo Cavieres and Cristóbal Aljorín de Losada (2005) take us into the early 1900s,[7] and the collection of essays edited by Sergio González and Daniel Parodi (2013) points to a number of interesting cultural and intellectual developments that occurred over the course of the twentieth century.[8] Particularly welcome additions to the new literature are those of Paulo Drinot (2011) and Stephanie Gänger (2014).[9] The former's discussion of contemporary representations of the War of the Pacific indicates some of the longstanding overlaps between Chilean and Peruvian discussions about race, not least the notion that 'indigeneity [is] commeasurable with backwardness',[10] and Gänger's study of antiquity collecting in Chile and Peru reveals 'the interconnectedness and similarities between scholarly and political ideas in the two nation states' from 1837 through to 1911. 'The identification with a pre-Columbian ancestor through the discourse of archaeology in both Chile and Peru', she argues, demonstrates 'shared concerns about race, nationality, and territoriality, as well as about authenticity and sovereignty, about civilisation and progress'.[11]

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[5] Not least the festering maritime border dispute, arbitrated by the International Court of Justice at The Hague in 2013.

[6] Carmen McEvoy and Ana María Stuven, *La república peregrina: Hombres y armas el América del sur* (Lima: IEP, 2007).

[7] Eduardo Cavieres and Cristóbal Aljorín de Losada (ed.s), *Perú-Chile/ Chile-Perú, 1820-1920: Desarrollos politicos, económicos y culturales* (Valparaiso: Ediciones Universitarias de Valparaiso, 2005).

[8] Sergio González and Daniel Parodi (eds.), *Las historias que nos unen*: *Episodios positivos en las relaciones peruano-chilenas, siglos XIX y XX* (Santiago: RIL Editores – Universidad Arturo Prat, 2013).

[9] Paulo Drinot, 'Website of Memory: The War of the Pacific in the Global Age of YouTube', *Memory Studies* 44:4 (2011), pp. 370-385; and Stephanie Gänger, *Relics of the Past: The Collecting and Study of Pre-Columbian Antiquities in Peru and Chile, 1837-1911* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

[10] Drinot, 'Website of Memory', p. 378.

[11] Gänger, *Relics of the Past*, pp. 206-207.

My study of Chambi's trip to Chile digs down into the detail of some of these connections, similarities and shared concerns at one particular moment in time: 1936. It thinks outside the confines of the nation-state which, as Jo Guldi and David Armitage remark, 'has been the default container of historical study since the nineteenth century',[12] but does not reject the nation-state as a valuable unit of historical analysis. Indeed, this specific example of cross-border dialogue partially reinforces the significance of national boundaries, by exposing the complex relationship between intellectuals and their respective states, and the role of cultural exchange in the shifting diplomatic and political relationship between Chile and Peru.

The Chilean Minister of Foreign Affairs (1927-1929), Conrado Rios Gallardo, once described 'the Arica-Tacna question between Chile and Peru' as the gravest of 'all the international American problems'.[13] Chambi's visit to Chile, which took place seven years after the signing of the Tacna and Arica Treaty, constituted an important transnational bridge-building exercise. The Santiago-based magazine *Hoy* hoped that his 'travels around Chile [would] serve as an aesthetic bond' encouraging 'friendship between the two countries'.[14] And when the Peruvian press discussed the trip, both at the time and retrospectively, Chile was presented as a 'neighbour' worthy of admiration and emulation because of its economic accomplishments.[15]

In an interview with *Hoy* shortly after his arrival in Santiago, Chambi recounted: 'I have read that in Chile people believe Indians have no culture, that they are barbaric, that they are

[12] Jo Guldi and David Armitage, *The History Manifesto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 15.

[13] The Treaty of Ancón, which brought an end to the war between Chile and Peru in 1883, stipulated that Chile was to maintain control of the provinces of Arica and Tacna for the next ten years. At the end of this period, the local population was supposed to decide whether to be Chilean or Peruvian by plebiscite. For a variety of reasons, however, the plebiscite never took place. In 1929, a final settlement entitled the 'Tacna and Arica Treaty', allowed Tacna to be reincorporated into Peruvian national territory, whilst Arica remained Chilean. See William Skuban, *Lines in the Sand: Nationalism and Identity on the Chilean-Peruvian Frontier* (Albuquerque, N.M.: University of New Mexico Press, 2007), which opens with the words of Rios Gallardo.

[14] *Hoy*, Santiago, No. 223, February 1936.

[15] *El Pueblo* of Arequipa, 19 April 1947.

intellectually and artistically inferior when compared to whites and Europeans'.[16] Initially, the photographer's words seem to corroborate the dominant scholarly narrative about Chile which persists until today; that is, of a country which 'ignores its [own] Indian heritage' and is highly racist in its attitude towards 'more Indian' countries such as Bolivia and Peru.[17] As a result, it has largely been excluded from scholarship on *indigenismo* – a 'reformist movement' led by non-Indians seeking to defend a 'marginalised Indian population and vindicate its cultural past or potential future'[18] – which reached its peak in Latin America between the 1920s and 1940s.[19] In contrast, we are continually told that *indigenismo* 'enjoyed special esteem' in Peru.[20] As narrated by Jorge Basadre, 'the growing awareness among writers, academics and politicians of the Indian's existence' constituted the 'most important phenomenon in Peruvian culture in the twentieth century'.[21]

Undoubtedly, there were major differences between Chile and Peru at the time of Chambi's visit. In Peru, indigenous people constituted the majority; in Chile they did not, partly because the state had physically eliminated many of its Mapuche population in the euphemistically-named 'pacification campaigns' of the late nineteenth century. In Peru, where

[16] 'El alma quechua alienta en los cuadros de un artista vernáculo,' *Hoy*, No. 224, 4 March 1936

[17] Miguel Centeno, *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), p. 109; Erika Beckman, 'The Creolization of Imperial Reason: Chilean State Racism in the War of the Pacific', *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies* 18: 1 (2009), pp. 73-90.

[18] Seemin Qayum, 'Indian Ruins, National Origins: Tiwanaku and *Indigenismo* in La Paz, 1897-1933', in Laura Gotkowitz (ed.), *Histories of Race and Racism: The Andes and Mesoamerica from Colonial Times to the Present* (Durham and London: Duke University Press), p. 160.

[19] According to Chilean sociologist Jorge Larraín, Chile never really developed an *indigenista* movement, at least not in the early twentieth century. He acknowledges that several prominent Chilean intellectuals wrote about the 'indigenous question' but claims such writings were limited to anthropology scholarship and had very limited impact. It was not until the 1980s, Larraín says, that a significant number of authors began to show an interest in the subject. See *Identidad chilena* (Santiago: Ediciones LOM, 2001), pp. 232-233.

[20] Angel Rama, trans. by David Frye, *Writing across Culture: Narrative Transculturation in Latin America* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2012) p. 95.

[21] Cited in Priscilla Archibald, *Imagining Modernity in the Andes* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2011), p. 25.

there was no full scale military effort of this kind, people could not have denied the existence of indigenous people even if they had wanted to. Furthermore, Chile had no equivalent of Cuzco or Machu Picchu; it had no comparable historic monuments to honour the 'great civilizations' of the pre-Columbian era. It had no Luis Valcárcel (1891-1987) or José Carlos Mariátegui (1894-1930), political campaigners who were famed above all else for their writings on the 'Indian problem' and their belief in the future return of the Indian.

Yet, one of the key points that I have made in previous works is that intellectuals and politicians *were* talking about 'the indigenous question' in early twentieth century Chile.[22] It was not as prominent as in Peru, but it was an important topic of discussion nonetheless. Specialists were investigating the Mapuche (and other indigenous) languages.[23] Soon to be Nobel laureates were writing about the suffering of the Mapuche people.[24] Mapuche leaders had long since been demanding better access to education, and an education that was more suited to their needs, and government authorities occasionally responded to these demands.[25] Mapuche organisations debated the land problem at local congresses attended by Chilean journalists and senators.[26] President Arturo Alessandri, in power when Chambi visited Chile, had travelled to Araucanía during his election campaign, and pledged that he would work 'heart to heart' with the 'most

[22] Joanna Crow, *The Mapuche in Modern Chile: A Cultural History* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2013), especially chapters 2 and 3.

[23] Tomás Guevara, Rodolfo Lenz, and José Felix de Augusta were all of a slightly earlier period, publishing their best known works on Mapudungun between 1890 and 1910, but these were republished in new editions long after their deaths.

[24] See for example, Gabriela Mistral, 'Música araucana', *La Nación*, Buenos Aires, 17 April 1932. Pablo Neruda also took an interest in the Mapuche, and was reprimanded by Chilean state authorities when, as Consul in Mexico City in 1940, he published a magazine on Chilean cultural affairs called *Araucanía*, the first front cover of which was dominated by the smiling face of a Mapuche woman.

[25] Andrés Donoso Romo, *Educación y nación al sur de la frontera: Organizaciones mapuches en el umbral de nuestra contemporaneidad, 1880-1930* (Santiago: Pehuén, 2008).

[26] For example, the Araucanian Congresses organised every year between 1921 and 1952 by Manuel Aburto Panguilef. See Andre Menard and Jorge Pavez, 'El Congreso Araucano: Ley, raza y escritura en la política mapuche', *Política* 44 (2005), pp. 211-232.

potent race of South America', a race 'that had enabled the triumphal successes of the Chilean people', and regional newspapers celebrated such encounters.[27] As usual, official promises failed to live up to much, but – under pressure from indigenous organisations – Alessandri's government did endorse some important initiatives such the creation of an Indigenous Credit Scheme in 1936.

Set against this back drop, it is not surprising that – as reported by *El Pueblo* of Arequipa in 1947 – Chilean artists and journalists were bowled over by Chambi, refusing to 'leave him alone [even] for a second.'[28] Following his previously cited declaration about Chilean notions of indigenous inferiority, Chambi told readers of *Hoy:* 'I have never believed this […] More eloquent than my opinion, however, are visual testimonies, and it is for this reason that I have come here'. Retrospective accounts suggest he was pleased he went: speaking to *El Pueblo* in June 1958, he said 'I am tremendously proud that people abroad have paid tribute to me as an Indian and a Peruvian'. According to this Peruvian periodical, one of the most significant accolades bestowed upon Chambi was that 'printed on the front cover of the Chilean newspaper *La Nación*' – the announcement 'in bold letters of the success of his exhibition in Santiago'.[29] When he was interviewed by *El Sol* of Cuzco earlier that same month, Chambi was keen to call attention not only to *what* was said in the Chilean press, but also *how much* press coverage he received: '*El Mercurio*, *La Nación*, *El Diario Ilustrado* and other eminent newspapers from Santiago de Chile publish my photographs. *Hoy*, *Zig-Zag*, and *Revista Ercilla* also show them. In this way I made sure and am still making sure that the entire civilised world finds out about Cuzco'.[30] In

[27] 'Participacion del Comité Indígena antenoche en la recepción del candidato señor Alessandri', *El Diario* Austral, Temuco, 28 September 1931.

[28] 'Martin Chambi, el genial artista de la luz', *El Pueblo*, Arequipa, 19 April 1947.

[29] 'El artista del paisaje cumple Bodas de Oro', *El Pueblo*, 24 June 1958, p. 13

[30] *El Sol*, Cuzco, 15 June 1958.

short, Chile was not as 'anti-indigenous' as he had thought before going, or he felt that by exhibiting his photography there he had helped to undermine such racism.

Chambi sought to debunk racial stereotypes but often ended up reinforcing them. In exploring how he did this, we become aware of the prevalence in *both* countries of images of the 'authentic' Indian, the historic Indian, and the 'sad Indian'. Crucially, we also sense that Chileans and Peruvians were speaking *with* (not just similarly *to*) each other. This is important because it opens up a window not only onto the ideas themselves but also onto how ideas are exchanged and disseminated. After a brief description of the world in which Chambi lived and worked in Peru, and of the logistics of his trip to Chile, this article offers an in-depth reading of the ways in which his photographs were received and re-transmitted by the Chilean press. In total, it analyses a dozen articles that appeared in ten different Chilean newspapers and *revistas* (mainly, but not exclusively of the capital city), and compares this coverage to the ways in which the Peruvian press talked about his photography. In doing so, it takes up Deborah Poole's recommendation that we 'ask not what specific images *mean* but, rather, how images accrue value'.[31]

This investigation frames its comparison of Chilean and Peruvian discourses of race and indigeneity as one of *extent*, rather than arguing that Chile articulated one vision (or did not talk about race) and Peru another (or always talked about race). Early twentieth century Chile did not have a Valcárcel or Mariátegui but it did have Gabriela Mistral, Pablo Neruda and Alejandro Lipschutz. It had no Cuzco or Machu Picchu but it was home to a scholarly community that was interested in (collecting, preserving, and exhibiting) artefacts pertaining to Chile's pre-Columbian cultures. There were some denials, but many people acknowledged the existence of indigenous peoples, even if they lamented it, or relegated it to the southern provinces, just as in Peru the 'indigenous question' was consigned to the Andean highlands. Chile did not have as prominent an *indigenista* movement as Peru but the full name of the Araucanian Corporation, set up by

[31] Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 10.

Venancio Coñuepán and other Mapuche political leaders in 1938, was the Araucanian Corporation, Indigenista Movement of Chile, and Coñuepán went to the First Inter-American Indigenista Congress, held in Mexico, in 1940, as official representative of the Chilean government.

It was this *indigenista* Chile that Chambi visited. An analysis of the Chilean reception of Chambi's photography that draws out comparisons with Peruvian responses to his work during the same period allows us to tease out some of the different layers and nuances of debates about race in each country. Chambi did not create a debate about race in Chile but he entered into it and got people talking across national boundaries.

The Social and Political Landscape of Chambi's World

At the time of his trip to Chile, Chambi was living and working in Cuzco, a city that 'resided nearly two miles up in the thin Andean air and lay several days' journey by train and steamship from Lima'.[32] It was much smaller than Lima, with a total population of approximately 35,000-40,000.[33] It was nonetheless 'a very active intellectual centre'.[34] It had its own 'School of Painting', dating back to the colonial period, and a well-established 'School of Photography'.[35] It was also home to the San Antonio Abad University, which had led the way in Peru's university

[32] Willie Hyatt, 'Flying "Cholo": Incas, Airplanes and the Construction of Andean Modernity in 1920s Cuszco, Peru', *The Americas* 63: 3 (2007), p. 327.

[33] Lima was home to approximately 500,000 people by this time.

[34] Camp, 'Martín Chambi', p. 224.

[35] Tom Cummins, 'A Tale of Two Cities: Cuzco, Lima and the Construction of Colonial Representation' in Diana Fane (ed.) *Converging Cultures: Art and Identity in Spanish America* (New York: Brooklyn Museum, 1996), pp. 157-71; Edward Ranney, 'New Light on the Cusco School: Juan Manuel Figueroa Aznar and Martín Chambi', History of Photography 24: 2 (2000), p. 113.

reform movement. Such cultural hubs (and many others) brought together intellectuals from across the Americas and Europe, as well as from different parts of Peru.[36]

As Marisol de la Cadena and others have shown, the city was also a hot-bed of political activism.[37] The 1920s had witnessed a significant increase in rural unionisation, and local indigenous leaders progressively 'adopted class vocabulary and activities in their political work'.[38] A number of peasant rebellions had taken place towards the end of the decade, and the re-named Communist Party actively competed with the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA) for the support of organised labour in the region, despite being persecuted by the military government of Óscar Benavides.[39] What is more, as the heartland of the ancient Inca empire and thus a centre for what Robert Levine describes as 'pro-Indianist sentiment',[40] the city became embroiled in an 'intense nationalist debate' between *indigenismo* and *hispanismo*.[41]

Chambi was a major player in the complex cultural and political heterogeneity that was 1930s Cuzco. Shortly after he returned from Chile, the regional paper *El Tiempo* proudly asserted that 'almost all the globe-trotters who visit Cuzco have ended up in the house of Martín

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[36] As noted by Spitta, the city had a faster connection to Buenos Aires than Lima did at the time ('Monumentally Indian', pp. 173-174).

[37] See De la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos*, p. 137. '[F]rom the 1930s to the late 1950s', she says, 'cuzqueños lived an intense political period'.

[38] Ibid., p. 129.

[39] The Socialist Party was renamed the Communist Party after Mariátegui's death in 1930. Robert J. Alexander notes the historic strength of Communism in Cuzco, and claims this dated from the early 1930s, when Eudosio Rabines – Secretary General of the PCP - 'had considerable success proselytising among the Indians there'. See *A History of Organised Labor in Peru and Ecuador* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2007), p. 72. The hostile political climate of the second half of the 1930s limited the capacity of both the PCP and APRA to influence the labour movement (many leaders were jailed or sent into exile), but recruitment efforts continued nonetheless. See Paulo Drinot, 'Creole Anti-Communism: Labor, the Peruvian Communist Party and APRA, 1930-1934', *Hispanic American Historical Review* 92: 4 (2012), pp. 703-736. Two very useful works on Peruvian Communism with a specific focus on Cuzco are José Luis Renique, *Sueños de la sierra: Cusco en el siglo xx* (Lima: Centro Peruano de Estudios Sociales, 1991) and Julio Gutiérrez, *Así nació la cruz roja [contribución a su historia política, 1924-1934* (Cuzco: J.G. Gutiérrez, 1986).

[40] Robert Levine, *Images of History: Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Latin American Photographs as Documents* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1989), p. 65.

[41] De la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos*, p. 132. See also Mark Thurner, *History's Peru: The Poetics of Colonial and Postcolonial Historiography* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida), p. 210.

Chambi'. 'Intellectuals, poets, journalists and others who have dedicated their lives to art', it said, 'have always descended on Chambi's home'. Just the night before *El Tiempo* published this piece, twenty or more people had gathered there to say farewell to the Argentine writer Fausto Burgos.[42] In terms of politics, Robert Levine claims Chambi associated with APRA; Levine also comments that many of his friends 'were probably members of the Communist Party'. We need to take care, though, not to pigeon-hole Chambi as a leftist, for – despite such (notably vague) assertions of party political affiliations and despite being born into a humble peasant family in Coaza, Puno – he also moved relatively comfortably among Cuzqueño landowning elites, with much of his income coming from the portraits that they commissioned from him.

Chambi has often been linked to the *indigenista* movement that was prominent in Peru – and especially prominent in Cuzco – during the first half of the twentieth century. Indeed, for some scholars such as Jorge Coronado it is precisely in this context that it is most fruitful to analyse his photography.[43] Existing literature stresses that his relationship with *indigenismo* was an ambiguous one in that he seemingly ascribed to, helped to shape and challenged it all at the same time. He collaborated on government-led tourist brochures which publicised Cuzco's unique cultural heritage, but also recorded the poverty-stricken existence of the local indigenous population, and played around with (sometimes openly mocking) dominant ideas about cultural and racial identity. New scholarship has also underscored the fact that *indigenismo* did not function as one uniform whole, but was instead 'a diverse movement, ideologically and aesthetically', which introduced multiple 'often contradictory meanings, categories and analytical paradigms' in order to try to grapple with the 'Indian question'.[44] Chambi's photographic oeuvre provides an illuminating lens through which to explore the complexities of *indigenismo*, for it

[42] 'Granadas de mano: En casa de Martín Chambi', *El Tiempo*, Cuzco, 16 August 1936.

[43] Jorge Coronado, *The Andes Imagined: Indigenismo, Society and Modernity* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009).

[44] Archibald, *Imagining Modernity*, p. 25 and p. 50.

likewise told many different and often-conflicting stories. Perhaps for this very 'elasticity',[45] Chambi proved to be the ideal candidate for the role of Peruvian cultural emissary in Chile.

The logistics of the trip and the exhibition(s)

Press reports at the time of Chambi's visit to Chile suggest that it was facilitated and sponsored by the Peruvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.[46] They also indicate that the Peruvian Ambassador in Chile, Pedro Yrigoyen, as well as other prominent members of the Peruvian diplomatic corps, attended the inauguration of the most widely-reported of his exhibitions: that hosted by *La Nación* in Santiago (see Fig. 2 below). Perhaps even more significantly, the then President of Chile, Arturo Alessandri, arranged for a private meeting with the Peruvian photographer whilst he was in the capital city,[47] and – once the exhibitions in Viña del Mar and Santiago were finished – agreed to fund Chambi's travels to the south of the country.[48] Right from the beginning, then, the Peruvian photographer's visit was patronised by officialdom, and closely connected to the incipient tourism industry of both countries. For *Los Andes* of Cuzco, the main purpose of the trip was to 'encourage people to come and see our archaeological riches'[49] and the financial support provided by Alessandri's government came specifically from the Department of

[45] James Scorer, 'Andean Self-Fashioning: Martin Chambi, Photography and the Ruins at Machu Picchu', *History of Photography* 38: 4 (2014), pp. 379-397.

[46] For example, 'El artista Martín Chambi viajará a Chile', *Los Andes*, Cuzco, 23 January 1936.

[47] 'Artista peruano fue recibido por el Sr. Alessandri' was the title of the article in *La Nación*, 5 May, 1936. Allegedly, Alessandri told Chambi that his photographs 'had had a great impact on him'.

[48] *Zig-Zag*, of 8 May 1936, affirmed that Chilean state authorities had 'provided all that Chambi needs for his tour around the south'.

[49] 'El artista Martín Chambi…', *Los Andes*, 23 January 1936. Albert Giesecke, rector of the San Antonio Abad University, was labouring tirelessly at this time to make 'the archaeological value of Cuzco and its environs known worldwide' (Spitta, 'Monumentally Indian', p. 180). The same year that Chambi visited Chile, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs entrusted Giesecke with the promotion of Peru abroad.

Tourism, on the basis that Chambi would exhibit the photographs that he took of southern Chile back in Peru (and in Argentina according to one newspaper).[50]

At first glance, the governments of Chile and Peru in 1936 appear markedly different. Arturo Alessandri (1932-1938) was a democratically elected civilian president who pledged to introduce important social reforms, whereas Peru's Oscar Benavides (1933-1939) was a repressive military dictator.[51] There were also, however, some important connections: these governments shared anxieties about the menace of anarchism and communism; they spoke to each other about labour legislation and public health;[52] and presided over what could be described as the re-invention of corporatism in Latin America.[53] Furthermore, both Chile and Peru were keen to participate in new Pan-American cultural initiatives, such as the Inter-American Institute of Intellectual Cooperation. According to one commemorative report of the early 1950s, Chile's National Committee of Intellectual Cooperation sought to 'create spiritual bonds with foreign countries so as to publicise Chilean culture abroad and foreign cultures in Chile'.[54] Chambi's visit, which took place just a year after this committee started its work, fitted in perfectly with such a remit.

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[50] 'Martín Chambi, artista de la fotografía debe llegar hoy', *La Prensa*, Osorno, 6 April 1936.

[51] After three years of de facto civil war under Luis Sánchez Cerro, many Peruvians hoped Benavides would succeed in restoring civil order. Initially, he declared amnesty for numerous political prisoners and set about instituting social reforms, but this brief political opening was over by the end of 1934. See Kathleen Weaver, *Peruvian Rebel: The World of Magda Portal* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), pp. 119-120.

[52] As detailed by Paulo Drinot, Peruvian policy makers studied and were influenced by the Chilean Social Security Law of 1935-36, and Chileans followed closely certain elements of the Benavides government's statist social action programme, particularly its 'Restaurantes populares' initiative. See *The Allure of Labor: Workers, Race, and the Making of the Peruvian State* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), p. 180, pp. 189-90, and pp. 199-200.

[53] Frederick Pike, *FDR's Good Neighbour Policy: Sixty Years of Generally Gentle Chaos* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), p. 152.

[54] Comisión Chilena de Cooperación Intelectual*, 22 años de labor: 1930-1952* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1953), p. 5.

LA NACION. — Domingo 22 de marzo de 1936

Con gran éxito se inauguró ayer en la Sala de Exposicion es de "La Nación" la Exposición Fotográfica de Chambi

ASISTIERON EL EMBAJADOR DEL PERU Y PERSONALIDADES ARTISTICAS E INTELECTUALES.— EL ARTISTA FU E FELICITADO CALUROSAMENTE

El Embajador del Perú, Excmo. señor Pedro Yrigoyen, acompañado de nuestro director, do nArturo Meza Olva, y el artista Martín Chambi, en la exposición que en "LA NACION" inauguró en la tarde de ayer

Parte del numeroso público que concurrió ayer a la exposición de fotografías inaugurada en la Sala de Exposiciones de nuestro diario

En la tarde de ayer se efectuó en la sala de exposiciones

Figure 2: *La Nación*, 22 March 1936 (Chambi circled by author)

Photographic exhibitions do not just happen by themselves. As noted above, both the Peruvian and Chilean governments were actively supportive of Chambi's trip. The director of *La Nación*, Arturo Meza Olva, who is pictured with Chambi in the newspaper's own report on the exhibition (top photograph in Fig. 2), also needed to be on board – as did the owners or managers of the other exhibition sites, such as the Casino in Viña del Mar, the book shop (Librería Universo) in Osorno, and the watch shop (Relojería Pérez) in Puerto Montt. Local artists and intellectuals were invited to attend the openings of the exhibitions, and journalists (and the periodicals that employed them) acted as vital publicists for these events. And, of

course, Chambi himself had an important role to play: he decided on the content of the exhibitions, chose who to ask to the inaugurations, and gave interviews with the press to communicate the significance of his work.[55]

The exhibition in Santiago was entitled 'Motifs of Cuzco'. It comprised 70 photographs,[56] which can be broken down into five main categories: 24 images of people ('tipos') and their cultural practices, 22 images of the natural landscape, 20 of colonial buildings and streets, three of archaeological sites, and one of a religious festival.[57] More than a third of the photographs exhibited in Santiago had been presented as part of an exhibition ('Andean Motifs') held at Lima's Hotel Bolivar in July 1927.[58] Audiences in both capital cities thus encountered a similar photographic oeuvre. It was also this 'version' of Chambi which went on display in the National Centre of Art History in La Paz in 1931,[59] was exhibited – together with the paintings of Francisco Olazo – in the Alcedo Academy in Lima in 1935,[60] and was brought to the attention of *National Geographic* readers in 1938.[61] That is, not the commercial work that was run out of his studio in Cuzco (which constituted the vast majority of his prints and became of interest to foreign audiences and scholars from the late 1970s),[62] but instead the 'magnificent landscapes,

[55] For this reason Ranney claims that 'how Chambi saw himself as an artist is still best indicated by selected newspaper interviews and the titles and print lists of several exhibitions he presented' (and he explicitly includes Santiago here). See 'The Legacy of Martin Chambi', p. 10.

[56] 'Fotografías Artísticas de Martín Chambi J. Motivos de Cuzco' (Santiago: Imprenta Bureau Gráfico, 1936)

[57] Garay Albújar, *Martín Chambi*, pp. 150-151.

[58] Ibid.

[59] 'La embajada cuzqueña', *El Diario*, La Paz, 29 January 1931.

[60] 'De arte: La exposición de Martín Chambi y Francisco Olazo', *La Crónica*, Lima, 26 March 1935.

[61] Teo Allain Chambi, 'La herencia de un archivo', p. 21.

[62] Penhall, 'The Invention and Reinvention of Martin Chambi', pp. 106-112.

fabulous ruins, and curious peoples and traditions' that, as Natalia Majluf makes clear, had long been the main interest of scholars and tourists visiting Peru.[63]

The 70 photographs were put on view in the 'Sala de Exposiciones' on the third floor of the offices of *La Nación* newspaper on Agustinas Street in central Santiago. Press coverage of the official opening, which took place on 21 March 1936 (see Fig. 2 above), shows that the photographs were displayed as relatively small, label-less prints, clustered together on the wall. The image below of Chambi amidst scores of invitees present at the inauguration of his exhibition in Lima in 1935 (as reported by *La Crónica*, Fig.3) indicates that there was nothing particularly unique about this display format. In fact, the layout and setting of, and the social crowd that flocked to, the exhibition openings in Lima (1935) and Santiago (1936) were strikingly analogous, at least as represented by the national press in Peru and Chile.


LA INAUGURACION DE LA EXPOSICION CHAMBI-OLATE.— Numerosas personas asistieron a la exposición de los artistas Martín Chambi y Francisco Olaze, inaugurada ayer en el local de la Academia Alcedo. Ofrecemos un aspecto de la concurrencia a dicha exposición.

Figure 3: 'De arte: Martín Chambi dará una muestra de su notable labor fotográfico', *La Crónica*, Lima, 11 March 1935.

Discourses of authenticity

[63] Her focus is the emerging Americanist archaeology and ethnography of the nineteenth century. See "'Ce n'est pas le Pérou" or the Failure of Authenticity: Marginal Cosmopolitans at the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1855', *Critical Enquiry* 23 (1997), pp. 868-893, p. p. 873.

In line with previous reports in the Peruvian press, and the scores of dedications that Chambi collected and preserved in his personal notebooks,[64] most Chilean periodicals reporting on Chambi's visit in 1936 lauded the artistic quality of his photographic work.[65] Some picked up on specific aesthetic hallmarks of Chambi's repertoire, such as his creative use of light, but for the main part they prioritised content over form and technique. Of particular interest to Chilean journalists was this artist's representation(s) of Peru's indigenous culture and history: as outlined by the press, this was what people would learn about if they went to see Chambi's opus, and it was precisely because of his intimate insider perspective that exhibition-goers could be sure they were getting the 'real thing'. On the day of its opening, *La Nación* informed readers that Chambi's photographic exhibition in Santiago would be accompanied by 'a valuable collection of genuine Indigenous-style Peruvian weavings'. Chambi, it said, had collected these weavings from remote Andean villages, where he spent long periods of time 'studying up-close the customs of the local inhabitants'.[66] In a slightly more direct manner, *Hoy* acclaimed the photographer as an indisputable 'specimen of Peruvian indigenous culture', because he had 'lived side by side with the men of his race', and *Las Ultimas Noticias* impressed upon its readership that Chambi's family was of 'legitimate Quechua stock'.[67] As if to allay any doubt, it noted his 'brown skin, protruding cheek-bones, and distinctive eyes'.

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[64] In his notebooks, reproduced in full by Garay (*Martín Chambi,* pp. 281-308), Chambi collected 87 dedications from people who visited him in Cuzco, or who he met on his travels. Of the 87, 31 explicitly described Chambi as an artist (often a 'great' or 'distinguished' artist, sometimes Peru's 'greatest artist') and his photography as an art form. Clearly, the relationship between photography and art was an issue of debate in early twentieth century Peru. On Chambi's formation as a photographer, see Adelma Benavente García, 'The Cusco School: Photography in Southern Peru, 1900-1930', *History of Photography* 24: 2 (2000), pp. 101-105. See also Penhall, 'The Invention and Reinvention of Chambi', p. 106.

[65] For example, *Hoy* of 4 March 1936, *Las Ultimas Noticias* of 16 March 1936, *La Nación* of 21 March 1936, and *Zig-Zag* of 8 May 1936.

[66] 'La Nación inaugura esta tarde la exposición fotográfica del artista peruano Martín Chambi', *La Nación*, 21 March 1936.

[67] 'El alma quechua…', *Hoy*, 4 March 1936, and 'Grandeza del Viejo Cuzco a través de la fotografía', *Las Ultimas Noticias*, 16 March 1936, respectively.

Thus emerge two discourses of authenticity: one which focuses on culture (on Chambi's connections to and knowledge of the traditional customs of 'his race'), and another which prioritises phenotype as the ultimate proof of indigeneity (the idea that people could *see* Chambi's indigenous-ness written upon his face). For either reason or both, there was a sense – as Levine has remarked – that Chambi was 'able to go so much further than other photographers in penetrating the social realities of his day'.[68] Chambi helped to cultivate such thinking when he introduced himself to readers of *Hoy* as a 'representative of the [Indian] race', and proclaimed that this race spoke through his photographs.[69] He consciously set himself up as an informed Indian ('I know the brothers of my race'), and appeared to use the term 'race' interchangeably with culture: 'I bring with me', he said, 'more than two hundred photographs of various aspects of Quechua culture', and emphasised that he had travelled 'all over the Peruvian Andes' to take them.

As with the celebration of Chambi's status as an artist, Chilean papers' emphasis on authenticity parallels the recognition that the photographer received in Peru. In 1927, Lima's *Seminario Nacional* commended Chambi as 'a pure and genuine representative of the Quechua race',[70] Lucas Guerra described him as 'a true American Indian' on the basis of 'his blood and his spirit' when he signed his notebook in 1932, and José Portugal, writing in 1934, praised his achievements as an 'artist of profound Indian sentiment'.[71] In the words of De la Cadena, from the early twentieth century 'Peruvian intellectuals and politicians […] juggled with an imprecise

[68] Levine, *Images of History*, p. 67.

[69] *Hoy* of 4 March 1936.

[70] Dated 18 August 1927.

[71] Of a total of 87 dedications included in Chambi's notebooks, 30 either alluded to or emphatically underscored his indigenous roots and/or the presence of indigenous Peru in his photographs.

notion of race in which the "spirit" prevailed over (but did not cancel out) the physical aspects of race'.[72]

That allusions to culture did not cancel out bodily attributes is aptly illustrated by a caricature drawing that Victor Mendívil did of Chambi in the 1930s (see Figure 4). It is also demonstrated in the praise that a cuzqueño town councillor, Miguel Milla, heaped upon Chambi as a 'genuine Peruvian Indian' in the late 1940s; similarly to *Las Ultimas Noticias* in Chile, Milla claimed that Chambi stood out for his 'protruding cheek-bones, condor-like eyes, and a large mouth and lips.'[73] And it is further corroborated by the writings of key intellectual and political activist José Uriel García. In his prologue to the 1937 edition of *El Indio Nuevo*, García declared: 'Our era cannot be one of the resurgence of "races" […] Instead I think we have reached the predominance of the "spirit" over "race" and over "blood"'.[74] As commented by Deborah Poole, Indian-ness, for García, was 'not so much a material fact which could be documented and photographed' – and here he explicitly diverged from other prominent *indigenista* intellectuals, such as Luis Valcárcel – but rather 'an attitude and pose'.[75] In an oft-cited article published in *Excelsior* just over ten years later, however, García spotlighted the physical features of Chambi: his 'small stature, protruding cheekbones, strong chin, [and] thick, straight hair'. This – together with his 'unassuming, polite, artistic temperament, the naturalness of the great Inca stones and the warmth of the sunny Andean pastures' – is what made Chambi a perfect 'native specimen'.[76] Again, then, we see cultural understandings of race articulated together with phenotypical ones. This was Chambi's milieu and it partly explains his popularity in Chile.

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[72] De la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos*, p. 8.

[73] Quoted in Mauricio Verbal, 'Martin Chambi: Poeta de la luz', *La Voz de Cuzco*, 29 January 1949.

[74] In De la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos*, p. 143.

[75] Poole, *Vision, Race and Modernity*, p. 190.

[76] José Uriel García, 'Martín Chambi, artista neoindígena', *Revista Excelsior*, August 1948, p. 17.

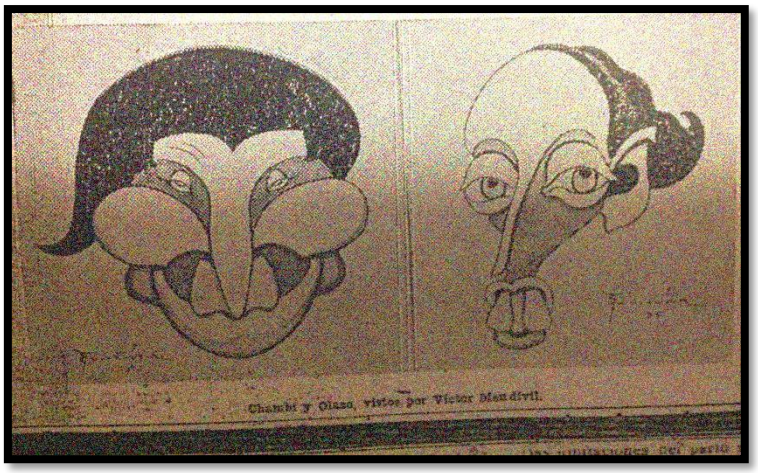

Figure 4: 'La exposición de Martín Chambi y de Francisco Olazo',
La Crónica, Lima, 26 March 1935.

As García's reference to the 'Andean pastures' above implies, Cuzqueño *indigenistas* of the 1930s and 1940s located the 'soul' that defined authentic Peruvians firmly within the Andean landscape. Not for nothing were 22 of the 70 images exhibited in Santiago in 1936 scenic views of this landscape. *El Mercurio* averred that Chambi's aesthetic creativity derived from the land: he was, it said, 'an artist who feels the [spiritual] power of his *tierra*'.[77] Chambi was aware of these discursive strategies and consciously positioned himself to take advantage of them.

Despite it not being 'his' *tierra*, Chambi made use of the 1936 trip to take photographs of Chile's natural landscape (proclaimed as the root of national identity by writers such as Gabriela Mistral and Mariano Latorre). Possibly at the behest of Alessandri's government, which financed his travels around the country, Chambi chose to prioritise the south of Chile – the cities of Temuco, Osorno, Valdivia and Puerto Montt, and their surrounding countryside.[78] One newspaper of Puerto Montt boasted that Chambi had come with the aim of capturing 'the

[77] 'Las ruinas incaicas en una colección de fotos', *El Mercurio*, 24 February, 1936.

[78] There are newspaper reports from Osorno and Puerto Montt confirming that he visited. I have not yet found any press coverage from Temuco or Valdivia, but the reports from Osorno and Puerto Montt make reference to these cities, either saying that he has come from, or is on his way to them.

beautiful panoramic views of this region', [79] and afterwards *Zig-Zag* of Santiago triumphantly reported that he had 'brought back many photographs of the Lakes Region that – because of their exquisiteness and variety – provide him with plenty of material to put on an exhibition when he returns to Peru, an exhibition publicising the immense beauty of southern Chile'.[80] This was the most 'authentic' (and notably indigenous) Chile, just as the Andean highlands constituted the most authentic (or 'profound', and indigenous) Peru.

Writing on Peru and how it was imaged at the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1855, Majluf argues that a discourse of authenticity 'demands that the artist express a collectivity and not himself'.[81] The Chilean press always named Chambi and most sources included a photograph of him, but ultimately he stood for (Andean, Quechua) indigeneity. Very little was said about Chambi's origins, his childhood, or his training and career as a professional photographer. No need was felt to narrate his individual life story.

Contested ownership of a glorious Inca past

Cusqueño *indigenistas* like Luis Valcárcel sought to recover an authentic indigenous identity based on the glorification of the Inca legacy. Chambi's photographs of Machu Picchu, Sacsayhuaman, Pisac, Quenco and Tambomacheg did not constitute a major part of his exhibitions in Chile, but those that he did include were reproduced and feted in most of the local newspapers. As noted by Michele Penhall, a number of these photographs of archaeological sites were self-portraits,[82] suggesting that Chambi wanted to publicly affirm his close identification with a pre-Columbian heritage. With this we return to Chambi's role as representative of his 'race': according to *Las*

[79] 'Artista peruano en fotografía nos visita', dated 5 April, 1936.

[80] 'Martin Chambi, artista peruano', *Zig-Zag*, 8 May, 1936, pp. 16-17.

[81] Majluf, "'Ce n'est pas le Pérou" or the Failure of Authenticity', p. 892.

[82] Penhall, 'The Invention and Reinvention of Martín Chambi', p. 107.

Ultimas Noticias of Santiago, he was uniquely placed to get at the 'lost corners' and 'unknown angles' of these sites.[83]

Focusing on the image of the monumental ruins of Sacsayhuaman, *El Mercurio* praised Chambi's ability to capture the rich cultural heritage of Cuzco and the surrounding region which was the 'cradle of a whole civilization'.[84] In Chambi's own words, quoted in *Las Ultimas Noticias*, the ruins affirmed the 'architectonic importance of Inca civilization'; they encapsulated the remnants of a 'brilliant architecture' and a 'great people'.[85] In *Revista Ercilla*, Juan Fernández honed in on recent excavations in Pisac, and drew attention – citing the works of Spanish colonial chronicler Cieza de León – to what the uncovered stones could reveal about the legendary Inca empire, not least how 'developed' (in terms of knowledge of symmetry) and 'happy' (in the original Spanish, 'sumamente alegre') it was.[86] Intriguingly, this article was republished in a Cuzco newspaper a couple of months after Chambi's return from Chile, an indication that Chilean appreciation of the 'millenary soul' of the Inca stones helped to endorse and propagate regionalist *indigenista* discourse within Peru.[87]

Reflecting retrospectively on the significance of his international exhibitions, Chambi once stated: 'Ever since I began to take photography seriously, I had one main dream: to show the world the natural beauty of my homeland ('patria' in the original) and the striking image of the ruins which speak to our historic past, in order to promote […] tourism in Peru'.[88] In Chambi's own words, the Inca ruins came under Peruvian ownership, or – depending on the

[83] 'Grandeza del Cuzco…', 16 March 1936.

[84] 'Las ruinas incaicas en una colección de fotos', *El Mercurio*, 24 March, 1936.

[85] 'Grandeza del Cuzco…', 16 March 1936.

[86] Juan Fernández, 'El alma milenaria de las piedras alienta desde el fondo de Cuzco', *Revista Ercilla,* 28 February 1936.

[87] *El Sol*, 26 July 1936.

[88] 'Martín Chambi, reliquia del Arte Fotografico del Cuzco. Artista del Paisaje cumple Bodas de Oro', *El Pueblo*, Arequipa, 24 June, 1958, p. 13.

intended meaning of 'homeland' and 'our' – a more local (indigenous, cuzqueño) ownership that then defaulted to the nation state (it is *Peru* that he seeks to promote).[89] As noted above, Cuzco's tourist industry was just beginning in the 1930s, and this coincided with the flourishing of a professional, state-sponsored national archaeology in Peru. The latter helps us to understand the continuing disputes that were taking place between Cuzqueño *indigenistas* and North American archaeologist Hiram Bingham, who presented himself as the 'discoverer' of Machu Picchu and had, in the 1910s, shipped hundreds of artefacts from the site back to his home institution, Yale University.[90] Possibly, Chilean audiences recognised in Chambi's work the motifs from Bingham's 'intensive marketing' of the Inca citadel.[91] Bingham's campaign, however, had mainly been aimed at U.S. readers, and it is notable that newspapers in Chile dedicated more space to Chambi's photographs of the Inca ruins at Pisac and Sacsayhuaman. This may seem at odds with the state's efforts to package and commodify Machu Picchu as *the* insignia of a 'magical, mystical' Peru, but it makes sense if read in the context of Peruvian archaeologists' endeavours to make known (and claim for themselves) other less frequently visited Andean sites.[92]

In the 1930s, proclamations of Peruvian national ownership of Inca ruins were surely directed against U.S. imperialism (the archaeological excavations of academics such as Bingham went hand in hand with the massive penetration of U.S. capital into Latin America and multiple instances of U.S. military intervention), but they supplemented rather than contradicted the 'American-ness' (i.e. Spanish or Latin American-ness) of the great pre-Columbian past

[89] The term 'patria' has multiple meanings. Chambi's 'fatherland' or 'homeland' is not necessarily the Peruvian nation. It could be his place of origin or the place he feels at home; it could be Cuzco, it could be the Andes. Indeed, people of Cuzco often saw their region as very much opposed to the Peru of Lima and the coast. On this occasion though, he seems to at least connect his 'patria' and his 'historic past' to Peru, or see it as part of Peru, in that he publicly speaks of its natural beauty as a selling point, a way of bringing foreign tourists to Peru.

[90] Geoffrey Schullenberger, 'That obscure object of desire: Machu Picchu as myth and commodity', *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies* 17: 3 (2008), p. 321.

[91] Ibid., p. 320.

[92] Ibid.

monumentalised in these ruins. One of Chambi's friends, for example, acclaimed the 'millenarian Metropolis' (of Cuzco), publicised by his photographs, as the 'pride not just of Peru but of all [Latin] America'.[93] This 'pan-Latin American nationalism'[94] would, in theory, allow Chileans too to lay claim to the glorious Inca legacy.

Such assertions of shared possession long predated the twentieth century and Latin American efforts to counter discourses of U.S. hemispheric imperialism. In her excellent study of antiquity collecting in nineteenth Chile and Peru, Stefanie Gänger shows how from the early 1880s 'in the eyes of many in Chile's scientific community the Inca were also the antiquity of Americans'.[95] This changed, Gänger argues, with the War of the Pacific. From 1879, Inca heritage ceased to be inclusive and increasingly embodied the Peruvian nation alone. Indeed, it became the 'core of Peruvian nationalistic propaganda' against the Chilean enemy,[96] who was condemned as a destructive, murderous invading force that – as well as usurping Peruvian lands – stole thousands of pre-conquest relics from Peruvian museums. Concurrently, in Chilean nationalist discourse, the Inca were thrown off their pedestal, and transformed into a tyrannical society, a decadent and degraded people that had failed to stand up to a handful of Spanish conquistadores, in marked contrast to Chile's Araucanians, whose epic military feats during the sixteenth century had been an inspiration to independence heroes across the continent.[97]

With Chambi's visit to Chile, and local audiences' admiration of his photographs, we see this politicisation of the indigenous past shift. It was not so much that the Chilean (or Peruvian) press tried to reconvert Inca civilisation into a universal treasure, for the archaeological sites

[93] This is the 51st entry in his personal notebooks (Garay, *Martin Chambi*, p. 295).

[94] Schullenberger, 'That obscure object of desire', p. 317.

[95] Gänger, *Relics of the* Past, p. 201.

[96] Ibid., p. 225.

[97] Joanna Crow, 'From Araucanian Warriors to Mapuche Terrorists: Contesting Discourses of Gender, Race and Nation in Modern Chile (1810-2010)', *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies* 20 (2014), p. 80.

imaged in his photographs remained, for the most part, distinctively Peruvian. This rich ethnic heritage ('the beauty of the patria of Atahualpa', to quote from *La Prensa* of Osorno)[98] was what set Peru, especially Andean Peru, apart and what was supposed to convert the region into a major tourist destination. It was, rather, that Inca civilisation was no longer set in opposition against Chile. Chileans too could celebrate it, as part of their neighbour's history; they could appreciate it from a distance through Chambi's photographs and, if wealthy enough, they could travel to Peru to experience it close-up. Inca Peru was 'other' in that it was exotic, but it was not antagonistic.

To be sure, transnational access to Peru's indigenous past went beyond the remit of tourism. Chileans' celebration of Inca Peru during Chambi's visit could be interpreted as the beginnings of what would culminate in renowned literary works such as Pablo Neruda's *Canto general*, and its renovation of the pre-Colombian indigenous past as a shared site for a wider political consciousness and identity. Neruda visited Machu Picchu in 1943 and wrote his iconic poem 'The Heights of Macchu Picchu' two year later, at the same time as he became a card-carrying member of the Chilean Communist Party. Reflecting on his encounter with this archaeological landmark, Neruda later wrote: 'I felt intimately small […] [in that] deserted world, proud, towering high, to which I somehow belonged'.[99] For Neruda and many other Latin Americans, including the Argentine revolutionary Ernesto 'Che' Guevara, Machu Picchu was much more than a stop-off for tourists. Identifying with those who had toiled in its construction, rather than the Inca leadership, Neruda said it was as if 'my own hands had laboured there at some remote point in time', and perhaps more poignantly, 'I felt Chilean, Peruvian, American'.[100] In 'The Heights of Macchu Picchu', Neruda allocated himself the role of spokes-person for the

[98] 'Martín Chambi…', 6 April 1936..

[99] Pablo Neruda, *Confieso que he vivido* [1974] (Madrid: Plaza & Janées, 1998), p. 220.

[100] Ibid.

entire continent in its struggle for social justice – 'Rise up to be born with me, my brother', he calls out to the labourers in the last line – and when a special signed edition of the poem was printed by the Chilean publishing house Editorial Nascimiento in 1954, its 12 'cantos' were accompanied by Chambi's photographs.[101]

Chilean (and Peruvian) journalists in the mid-1930s mainly spoke of the *historical*, as opposed to contemporary, indigenous world embodied in Chambi's photographs. The glorious Inca empire was interpreted as part of an irretrievable past, a society that had long ago concluded. *Las Ultimas Noticias*, for instance, spoke of 'ruins that are irremediably collapsing'.[102] Yet there was something else going on in Chambi's photographs too, and some Chilean newspapers picked up on it; that is, the way in which this artist drew the past into the present, and connected the two. 'In each photograph', *La Nación* commented, 'the soul of the place or person comes alive'; Chambi's lens, it said, 'reached beyond the destroyed stones'.[103]

For Valcárcel, who was involved in a number of publications of Chambi's photographs,[104] the Indian's potentiality 'as creator' lay hidden within these stones. They had been excavated by others, but publicised to the world by Chambi, and were ready to be reclaimed by the Indian of the present if only he would recognise the history (of enduring greatness) behind them.[105] According to James Scorer, Chambi recognised 'the temporal mutability' of the ruins – his photographs made visible the growth of plants and flowers in and around the ruins; the intricate stonework, as he showed it, was partially covered by this

[101] Pablo Neruda, *Alturas de Macchu Picchu* (Santiago: Nascimiento, 1954).

[102] 'Grandeza del Viejo Cuzco', 16 March 1936

[103] '"La Nación" inaugura esta tarde…', 21 March 1936.

[104] For example, Valcárcel wrote the accompanying text for *Cusco histórico: homenaje a la ciudad de todos los tiempos en la cuarta centuria de su fundación española* (Lima: Casa editora La Crónica y Variedades, 1934).

[105] Valcárcel, *Tempestad en los Andes*, cited in Alexandra Arellano, 'The Inca Heritage Revival: Indigenismo in Cuzco, 1905-1945', *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 6: 1 (2008), p. 44.

vegetation.[106] Moreover, in contrast to foreign explorers such as Bingham, Chambi celebrated the human presence at these Inca ruins, including his own; he 'highlighted the manner in which archaeologists, tourists and photographers were interacting with the material past'.[107] He photographed people picnicking, acting out plays, dancing and drinking amongst the ruins, and thereby transformed Machu Picchu from a ghostly scenario into a 'living' site of playfulness and fun. These more subversive images were not put on display in Chile, but the narrative of an enduring past, that survived into the present, and that could be mobilised for the future, was communicated by a number of the press reviews of his exhibitions.

Connecting the past and the present

According to Deborah Poole, Chambi – influenced by early twentieth century French anthropology – 'conceived photography as a medium through which to record what he saw to be a rapidly disappearing historical or "authentic" Andean Indian'.[108] The peaceful, traditional, vanishing Indian is perhaps best epitomised by 'El llama y el llamero' (Fig. 1, with which this article opened) and 'La tristeza andina' (Fig. 5, below).

Figure 5: 'La tristeza andina' [Andean Sorrow]

[106] Scorer, 'Andean Self-fashioning…', p. 388.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Poole, *Vision, Race and Modernity*, p. 191.

As recounted by *La Nación*, these two images were among the favourites of visitors to the photographer's exhibition in Santiago.[109] *Hoy* drew its readers' attention to the 'heraldic llama' depicted in 'El llama y el llamero': a 'majestic, graceful, resilient animal' accompanied by 'his herder […] the solitary, melancholic and wistful inhabitant of the desolate Peruvian highlands'. The herder and the flute player are somehow depicted simultaneously as historical ('very far from anything visibly modern', according to Coronado)[110] and outside history (abstracted, emptied of context). The 'sad Indian' trope – which dates back to the colonial period[111] – was taken to another level by Eduardo Lira Espejo. Writing for *Arquitectura*, this Chilean cultural critic imagined listening to 'the sombre, painful melody of the [Indian's] flute' and lamented the many 'saddened men, women and children' that we find in Chambi's photographs, suffering silently 'the pompous ceremonies of the church and its priests, the disdain of their masters, [and] exploitation by landowners'.[112]

These images of a long-suffering, stoic people likely proved popular among Chilean (and Peruvian) exhibition goers because they were not threatening. They were not the unionised, rebellious, land-seizing peasants that featured in Andean newspapers during the early 1920s.[113] They were not the dynamic, vocal activists that sought to defend Mapuche lands in Araucanía by working together with organisations such as the Federation of Chilean Workers and the

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[109] See also 'Lo que los ojos no ven', *El Diario Ilustrado*, 19 February 1936.

[110] Coronado, *The Andes Imagined*, p. 138.

[111] 'El indio' became synonymous, across the Americas, with sadness and sorrow, due to the misfortunes that he and his 'race' had suffered since the conquest. And yet Majluf rightly points out the contrast between representations of the defeated Peruvian Indian as passive (politically neutralised) and the narratives of bellicose resistance associated with the Indians of southern Chile and northern Mexico. See Majluf, *The Creation of the Image of the Indian: The Paintings of Francisco Laso (1823-1869)* (PhD Diss., University of Texas, 1994), and 'De la rebellion al museo: Genealogías y retratos de los incas, 1781-1900', in *Los incas, reyes del Perú* (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2005).

[112] Eduardo Lira Espejo, 'Martín Chambi transparenta en sus fotografías el espíritu cuzqueño', *Arquitectura*, Santiago, No. 6, April 1936.

[113] Arellano, 'The Inca Heritage Revival', p. 46.

International Red Cross.[114] Chambi's 'melancholic and taciturn Indian', in the words of *La Premsa* of Lima, was a 'sedated race' marked by a 'centuries-old lethargy'.[115] This was markedly similar to the Indian that populated the speeches and writings of APRA leader, Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre: 'Those that have seen our Indian solitudes', he said – in one essay of the mid-1920s – 'will have seen the great masses of sad, ragged and melancholy *campesinos* who carry the burden of four hundred years of slavery on their shoulders.'[116]

For Spanish photography curator Alejandro Castellote, Chambi eluded 'the scenes that would have publicised the tremendous precariousness of his race and the violent injustices suffered at the hands of the oligarchy'.[117] Prefiguring this recent criticism, Chambi's friend and critic, José Uriel García, contrasted him to 'the great Mexican painter' David Alfaro Siqueiros, whose artistic production functioned as an 'expression of social conscience'; according to García, writing in 1948, Chambi lacked a 'clear doctrinal and political vision'. He 'needs to dig down further into the complexities of the life of the people', García wrote, 'not just to discover them but also to denounce them'.[118]

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[114] This is what Manuel Aburto Panguilef and other delegates at the Araucanian Congress in Valdivia in 1936 agreed to do. Aburto Panguilef was deemed a Communist troublemaker for such actions and sent into internal exile in Chiloé.

[115] Dated 24 March 1935.

[116] Cited in Thomas M. Davies Junior, 'The Indigenismo of the Peruvian Aprista Party: A Reinterpretation', *Hispanic American Historical Review* 51: 4 (1971), p. 628. In the 1920s and early 1930s, the 'Indian problem' was an integral part of Haya de la Torre's political discourse. Following José Carlos Mariátegui – author of the now renowned *Siete ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana* (1927) and founder of Peru's Socialist Party – Haya envisaged Peru's "Indian problem" as a fundamentally social, economic and political (rather than racial) problem. Unlike Mariátegui, who argued that this problem would only be resolved through a Socialist revolution and the redistribution of land, Haya pushed – especially by the 1930s, when he softened his protest rhetoric – for a moderate reform programme, including the conservation of the 'comunidad', revised work contracts between Indians and landowners, and the promotion of Indian small industries and crafts. Like many in Peru at the time, he claimed it was necessary to rescue the Indian from his state of ignorance (and his 'centuries old lethargy'), and that this was to be done through an education in liberal arts, and more importantly in trade and technical skills (ibid.) For a compelling analysis of Mariátegui's views on the 'Indian problem', see Marc Becker, 'Mariátegui, the Comintern and the Indian Question in Latin America', *Science and Society* 74: 4 (2006), pp. 450-479.

[117] Castellote, 'Martin Chambi', p. 74.

[118] García, 'Martin Chambi, artista neoindígena'.

Despite the visibility of Mapuche political activism, early twentieth century Chilean intellectuals often wrote of a degraded, vanquished race; long gone were the heroic titans that Alonso de Ercilla eulogised in his epic poem *La Araucana.*[119] As in Peru, scholars – especially archaeologists and anthropologists working in museums – felt the need to salvage all that remained of indigenous culture before it disappeared forever.[120] But this was not exclusively the case. Some journalists, such as Juan Fernández, used the occasion of Chambi's visit to write in more optimistic terms about the future of the Indian. Shortly before the opening of the exhibition in Viña del Mar, Fernández told readers of *Revista Ercilla* – which was in the process of recruiting an increasing number of exiled Peruvian Apristas to its editorial team[121] – that Chambi was going to show them 'a Peru that we do not know and a race of which we are unaware.' 'The notion of the downcast, defeated and exhausted Indian', he continued, 'falls to pieces when we are confronted by the magnificent effort of an Indian of today and the Indians of the past who built the Inca Empire'.[122] The stereotypical image of the downtrodden Indian is undermined by a narrative of praiseworthy indigenous endeavour: on the one hand, that of the ancient Inca empire, which is not surprising; on the other, a contemporary indigenous man, Chambi himself. He is the 'Indian of today' of whom, purportedly, Chileans had been unaware. One of the points I am making in this article is that Chileans *did* know of his existence.

Chambi made visible other 'Indians of today'. 'One theme of my photographs', he told *Las Ultimas Noticias*, 'is the life of the contemporary indigenous worker, who maintains – almost intact – the cultural traditions of his ancestors'.[123] For him, there was no disjuncture between the past and the present; his was not a narrative of the past *versus* present, but the past *and* present as

[119] See for example, Mistral's aforementioned essay 'Musica araucana' (1932).

[120] Two key figures that stood out in this regard were Ricardo Latcham and Aureliano Oyarzun.

[121] Manuel Seoane was director of (as well as writer for) the magazine.

[122] Fernández, 'El alma milenaria…'.

[123] 'Grandeza del viejo Cuzco', 16 March 1936.

intimately interconnected. Crucially, the modern day Indian here is a 'worker' – a possible rejoinder, on Chambi's part, to those who thought the Indian was racially incapable of work.[124] Lira Espejo applauded Chambi as someone who was loyal to his 'class' as well as his 'race'. Via Chambi, he denounced the exploitation and marginalisation of which indigenous peoples had been victim. They had been forced into submission over the centuries, but for Lira this submission 'contains within it a rebellion that has not yet managed to erupt'. As he saw it, there was 'something hidden' in the facial expressions captured in Chambi's photographs: 'an internal rage which pounds away in the chest and that at the slightest incitement […] will explode'; to Lira's mind, that moment was not far off.[125] This would seem to echo the narrative (of the future return of a revitalised Indian) that Valcárcel promoted in *Tempestad en los Andes* (1927). It also echoes some of the dedications that Chambi collected in his notebooks: writing in 1931, Edmundo Delgado Vivanco celebrated the 'restlessness' ('una inquietud en marcha') and passionate defence of social justice that he detected in Chambi's photography. Not for everyone, then, was Chambi lacking in political vision. In 1930s Peru, the 'tendency was to use references to culture rather than class to naturalize social differences',[126] whereas in early twentieth century Chile, as told by most historians, class was a more significant social marker than culture or race.[127] Lira drew out the interconnections between class and race that he perceived in Chambi's oeuvre, as well as the continuing lack of integration that he detected in Peru, but he did not relate this directly to what was going on in Chile, despite the increasingly frequent expressions of

[124] See Drinot, *The Allure of Labour*, on early twentieth century Peruvian debates as to how suitable the Indian was for industrial labour (especially pp. 40-43). One view was that industrial work – symbolic of "civilisation" – could redeem and help to "awaken" the Indian; others saw indigeneity and labour as incommensurable. Chambi's photographs largely depicted the Indian as an agricultural (rather than urban) labourer, but still we could read this as an assertion of their capacity for work.

[125] Lira Espejo, 'Martín Chambi…'

[126] De la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos*, p. 140.

[127] For example, Patrick Barr Melej, *Reforming Chile: Cultural Politics, Nationalism, and the Rise of the Middle Class* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

solidarity between indigenous political activists and parties of the left.[128] It seems Chambi was a sufficiently blank canvas for people to be able to inscribe him with – and take from him – whatever narrative (of the past or present) they wanted.

Mestizaje through architecture

One of the photographs that Chambi exhibited in Santiago, and which piqued the interest of local newspapers, was the bell tower of San Cristobal church with its panoramic view of Cuzco (see Fig. 6 below).

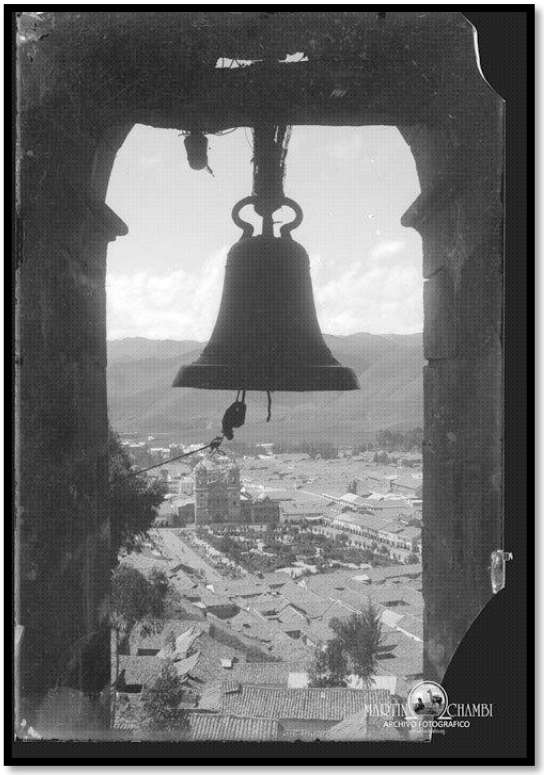

Figure 6: Campanario de San Cristóbal [Bell-tower of San Cristóbal]

San Cristóbal is located in the neighbourhood of Qollqanpata Inca, Sacsayhuaman. This is about 400 metres away from Cuzco's main square, where we find the Compañía de Jesús church

[128] On one particularly important (albeit disputed) event in this regard, see Florencia Mallon, 'Victims and Emblems: Images of the Ranquil Massacre in Chilean National Narratives, 1934-2004', *Labor: Studies in Working Class History of the Americas* 8: 1 (2011), pp. 29-57.

(clearly visible in the photograph). To the top left of this, in the distance, you can just see the church of Santo Domingo. San Cristóbal was built in the early years of conquest by the indigenous chief Cristóbal Paulla, to show his people's devotion to Christianity. Santo Domingo too was constructed during this period, on the site of the Qorikancha, the most sacred temple of the Inca; and the church of the Compañía de Jesús was built upon the palace of the Inca leader Wayna Qhapaq. For Chambi, such constructions epitomised the realities of 'colonial *mestizaje*'.[129] To readers of *Las Ultimas Noticias* he explained: 'We see how the Spanish built their homes on top of foundations and walls constructed by the Quechua'.[130] There are two ways of interpreting this narrative of racial or cultural mixing: on the one hand, a European cityscape has been superimposed on and consequently erased, or attempted to erase indigenous architecture; on the other, the Inca city remains visible and defies assimilatory colonial endeavours. In the words of Tom Cummins, 'new structures replaced or were built on the foundations of old ones, but the physical (and, therefore, the historical) presence of the Inca could never be erased.'[131]

In the 1920s, many of Cuzco's *indigenista* intellectuals, such as Valcárcel, repudiated *mestizaje* as 'inauthentic' and a process of loss (for indigenous cultures) but, as De la Cadena remarks, local discussions about race 'changed significantly in focus in the 1930s from the purist *indigenista* ideology to one that welcomed *mestizaje* as the project for national and regional identities'.[132] Cuzco mestizo identity, as articulated by figures such as Uriel García, was no longer set in opposition to indigeneity; instead this new discourse of nation-building embraced indigeneity and allowed it to thrive. It was, to borrow from Florencia Mallon, a 'resistant

[129] 'El alma quechua alienta…', *Hoy,* 4 March 1936. The term *mestizaje* is used to refer to the process or discourse of cultural or racial (biological) mixing. In this case, the focus is on cultural mixing.

[130] 'Grandeza del Viejo Cuzco', 16 March 1936.

[131] Tom Cummins, 'A Tale of Two Cities', p. 158.

[132] De la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos*, p. 131.

mestizaje', a 'liberating force that breaks open colonial and neo-colonial categories of ethnicity and race'.[133]

In her recent book on race in Chile, Patricia Richards comments that 'notions of racial and cultural mixing have occasionally sprouted up over the course of Chilean history', but argues overall that 'Chile does not adhere to the [dominant] myth of *mestizaje*'.[134] Given its prominence in museum narratives, school texts, presidential speeches, the national anthem, art works and literature throughout the twentieth century, I would contend that *mestizaje* emerges as an official discourse of nation-formation in Chile just as it does throughout most of the continent.[135] However, it seems clear that – in contrast to what De la Cadena says of 1930s Cuzco – it operates largely as 'a discourse of social control' and is 'constructed implicitly against a peripheral […] Indian "Other" who is often "disappeared" in the process.' As in Lima, official discourses of *mestizaje* in Chile often glorified 'the image of the pre-Colombian Indian while demeaning and dehumanizing contemporary indigenous people'.[136] In their version of 'constructive miscegenation', Gänger explains (noting in particular the lasting influence of the racial nationalism propounded by Nicolas Palacios) 'Chileans were a new, white race that had absorbed and assimilated the best of a bygone Indian people, the ancient Araucanians'.[137]

Only one Chilean press article of 1936 referred directly to Chambi as representative of a mestizo Peru, but it was the most extensive and detailed piece and is therefore worthy of close

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[133] Florencia Mallon, 'Constructing *Mestizaje* in Latin America: Authenticity, Marginality and Gender in the Claiming of Ethnic Identities', *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 2: 1 (1996), p. 171.

[134] Richards, *Race and the Chilean Miracle*, p. 8.

[135] Crow, *The Mapuche in Modern Chile*.

[136] Mallon, 'Constructing Mestizaje…', pp. 171-172.

[137] Gänger, *Relics of the Past*, p. 236. In *Raza chilena* (1904), Palacios traces the Chilean population back to a fusion between two successful warrior peoples: the Mapuche (or Araucanians in his text) and European conquistadors of Gothic (Germanic) descent.

analysis. The aforementioned Lira Espejo told readers that Chambi's photography excited him because 'the Indian and mestizo are always present […] the Indian and mestizo with their impenetrable […] facial expressions, compact like the stones of their monumental constructions…'[138] Lira drew heavily on Uriel García's studies on colonial Cuzco, especially his assertions that the 'aesthetic form imported from the metropolis predominated' in the urban area, in contrast to the rural outskirts of the city, where Indian and peasant traditions remained visible. Whereas for Cummins *mestizaje* was lived as a contest between Inca and Spanish architecture *within* the city, *mestizaje* for Chambi's contemporary García – as interpreted by Lira – was manifested in the struggle between urban Cuzco and its rural environs.

For Lira, that struggle was about both race and class: the art of urban Cuzco was 'upper class' ('arte de señores'), while in the small villages outside the city, one found the 'rustic and vigorous' ornamental art of the peasants, the 'real art of the Indian and mestizo peoples'. As Lira saw it, the 'affirmation of power' by the (Spanish) upper-classes was countered by the 'vengeful irony' of the indigenous and mestizo peasants. This represents one instance, then, of a 'resistant' or 'liberating' version of *mestizaje* circulating in Chile. Critically, Lira's article shows that Peruvian *indigenista* intellectuals such as Uriel García were being read in 1930s Chile. García travelled to Chile (en route to Argentina) the same year as Chambi,[139] and the following year he worked there as a summer school lecturer.[140] In 1939 a reception was held in García's honour in Lima, after he was elected as senator for Cuzco. Pablo Neruda, who was on his way back from France to Chile at the time, spoke at this ceremony, and his speech was published in the Chilean periodical *Qué*

[138] Lira Espejo, 'Martín Chambi…'

[139] Rodrigo Gutiérrez Viñuales, *Cuzco-Buenos Aires: Ruta de la intelectualidad americana, 1900-1950* (Lima: Universidad de San Martin de Porras, 2009), p. 194.

[140] Ronald Hilton, *Who's Who in Latin America: Part IV, Bolivia, Chile and Peru* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1947), p. 169.

Hubo a few weeks later.[141] It was García who invited Neruda to the heartland of the ancient Inca empire in 1943, and it was this trip that inspired the latter's famous poem 'The Heights of Macchu Picchu', which – in the 1954 edition published in Santiago – was illustrated by Chambi, who was a friend of García and worked with him on a book about Cuzco following the tragic earthquake of 1950.[142] Lira, García, Neruda and Chambi were thus all speaking to one another directly or indirectly.

The Santiago that Chambi encountered in 1936, however, was no Cuzco and there was no Machu Picchu nearby. Beyond the occasional monument celebrating the glorious military feats of the sixteenth-century Mapuche warriors against the Spanish conquistadors, there was very little to discern of indigenous Chile in the architecture of its capital city. Perhaps it is to be expected, then, that there is no mention in the Chilean press of Chambi's touristic interest in Santiago. It seems that he was keen to leave the metropolitan region as soon as his exhibitions there were over, and for a specific reason: as quoted in *Las Ultimas Noticias*, he planned 'to go to southern Chile to study the life of the Araucanians'.[143] Like many visiting scholars and tourists at the time, Chambi wanted to observe first-hand how Mapuche people lived. It is the classic exoticising 'gaze' at the 'other', even though the photographer is indigenous.[144]

Zig-Zag magazine narrated this visit to the south as one of the highlights of Chambi's trip, and informed readers that 'he took fascinating pictures of the everyday lives of our aborigines' (as well as of the natural landscape) while he was there.[145] As mentioned earlier, the plan was

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[141] 'Saludo a Uriel García', *Qué Hubo*, Santiago, 2 January 1940.

[142] *Cuzco: Capital arqueólogico de Sudamérica* (Buenos Aires: La Pampa, 1951), with photographs by Chambi and prologue by Uriel García.

[143] 'Grandeza del Viejo Cuzco…', 16 March 1936.

[144] We are thus reminded of Poole's warning against understanding the gaze as a 'singular or one-sided instrument of domination and control' (*Vision, Race and Modernity*, p. 7).

[145] 'Martín Chambi…', 8 May 1936.

then to exhibit these photographs back in Peru. The visual image of Chile that Chambi was going to disseminate abroad was not the 'modern' or 'progressive' nation of the capital city (although he did talk to the Peruvian press about how impressed he was by the country's economic progress), but rather the indigenous, rural south. The human protagonists that Peruvian audiences were going to encounter, through Chambi's photographs, were 'our aborigines'. Faced with this documentary record, government officials could not deny the existence of indigenous peoples in Chile. As depicted by *Zig-Zag*, they did not even attempt such a disowning; indeed, it was the government that sponsored Chambi's trip south. The choice of words suggests a colonial relationship ('our aborigines') but also intimates acceptance, within the 'lettered city' of Santiago, that Peruvians might come to think of Chile as an indigenous country.

Concluding comments

Chambi's was a camera for hire, as much by the Chilean government as the Peruvian government, although more research work is required to ascertain whether he lived up to his promise to exhibit photographs of southern (indigenous) Chile back in Peru.[146] The promise itself, however, is significant. It speaks to the overlaps between Chilean and Peruvian discourses of race and indigeneity, in the context of both countries' efforts to promote international tourism. My analysis shows that while Chambi went to Chile with the aim of debunking racial stereotypes, he ended up reinforcing many of them. This was perhaps inevitable, given that the official purpose of his trip was to unveil a marketable Andean culture that wealthy Chileans would pay money to go and see. The limitations were not just applicable to his photographic exhibitions in Chile. Chambi presented a similarly marketable Andean culture for Peruvians. For

[146] The fragmentary but nonetheless highly useful primary source material presented here proves only that Chambi took photographs of the southern region; I have yet to find any direct evidence that these were subsequently displayed in Peru. I hope to do more extensive research in Peruvian archives, particularly in Cuzco, over the coming year, and to combine this with research in Argentinean archives, in order to expand my analysis of Chambi's cross-border encounters, as part of a larger project on transnational intellectual networks in Latin America.

Limeños in particular, his photographs 'captured in print the strong and silent Indians, with all their distinctive characteristics; the most varied customs and traditions that were foreign to us'.[147] As told by *La Tradición*, Chambi's Indians were just as 'other' to the elite of Lima as they were to the elites of Santiago.

This Peruvian photographer's exhibitions and his promotion of these exhibitions via press interviews fed into existing debates in Chile, and therefore help to illuminate the transnational dimensions of intellectual conversations about race in early twentieth century Latin America. I have drawn attention to several transnational (predominantly but not exclusively Chilean-Peruvian) cultural and political connections that emerge through and subsequent to Chambi's visit. Peruvian officialdom's appropriation of Chambi's photography as part of its campaign to publicise Cuzco's unique cultural heritage to the world can be read as a (counter) response to U.S. archaeologist Hiram Bingham's self-ascribed role as marketer of Inca Peru. In Chile, Chambi's exhibitions were celebrated by a number of periodicals including the well-known *Revista Ercilla*, which had recruited several Peruvian writers, such as Manuel Seoane, to its editorial team. As an Aprista leader, living in exile in Santiago, Seoane openly opposed the government of Benavides. We thus see both official and non-official Peru associate with Chambi's photography, and incorporate him into their oft-opposing (national and continental) narratives. In his piece in *Arquitectura*, Chilean commentator Lira Espejo drew on the work of Cuzqueño educator, essayist and (leftist) politician Uriel García to interpret the stories being told in Chambi's photographs. Pablo Neruda also celebrated the importance of García's work, and may not have visited Machu Picchu – nor written his famous revolutionary poem about the site, which was later illustrated by Chambi – if García had not invited him there.

[147] 'Martin Chambi y sus obras de arte', *La Tradición*, Lima, 22 August 1927.

In the current context, when Chambi's iconic images circulate not just continentally but globally, Chilean-Peruvian cultural connections remain strong. In 1995, the Museum of Fine Arts in Santiago hosted a much-celebrated exhibition of this artist's work.[148] In 2001, his grandson Teo Allain Chambi met Ilonka Csillag, Director of Chile's National Centre of Photographic Heritage, at a conference in Buenos Aires, and they agreed to work together on a project to recover, preserve and publicise Chambi's photographic archives.[149] In 2016, the Cultural Centre of Las Condes in Santiago, in collaboration with the Peruvian Embassy, put on an exhibition of 90 photographs by Chambi and the same grandson was invited to give the inaugural talk.[150] Publicity surrounding the exhibitions of 1995 and 2016 – held in notably more prestigious venues than in 1936 – demonstrates that this photographer remains something of an open page. As in the 1930s, diverse audiences can manipulate his work to suit their own political narratives about class and race. This malleability (which Chambi himself seemingly promoted during his lifetime) has allowed him to operate as an important cultural mediator, a constructive site of encounter both between and beyond national governments.

[148] *Martín Chambi en Chile, fotografías 1922-1944* (Santiago: Museo de Bellas Artes, 1995).

[149] Teo Allain Chambi, 'La herencia de un archivo'.

[150] 'Martin Chambi: La luz de la tierra', 6 April – 4 June 2016 (see http://www.culturallascondes.cl/home2/martin-chambi.html).